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ABSTRACT

Increased grassroots political activity by the far right wing of the political spectrum suggests that American public education may be entering another round of attack from that sector. A review of activities of ultraconservatives and the far right shows that the "New Right" coalition of these groups presents signs of long range planning, political sophistication and the capacity to compromise for maximum effectiveness. It is urged that educators consider the implications for program development should rightist efforts to reduce federal and state funding for educational and social programs succeed. To be effective in countering these efforts, educators will need courage to become involved in public debate, credibility with voters, and knowledge of methods to protect schools from extremist critics. (Author/MJB)

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COURAGE, CREDIBILITY, AND CRITICS OF EDUCATION*

Paper presented to the

Association of Teacher Educators

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by

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There is evidence to suggest that American public education may be entering another round of attack from the far-right. Fed by increased taxes, union militancy, liberals in power, and godlessness in the public schools, a number of ultraconservative, far-right, and fundamentalist groups are showing remarkable success in developing a grass-root political structure designed to restrict social legislation, reduce spending, elect like-minded persons to public office, and turn Americans back to the basics. During a time of distrust of government, public apathy at the polls, and conflicting results of educational programs, the conditions are ripe for a well-organized group of true believers to exert influence far beyond their numbers.

Whether we like it or not, American education can never be entirely removed from the political process. Educational support is a function of public opinion, and we are caught in the web of changing, diverse, and conflicting debate about the future. Education is a function of public opinion; as such, it is a necessary task for educators to consider carefully the political climate that appears to be emerging on the American scene. Many of our citizens seem to be seeking a retreat from a changing world in a society, as Toffler once observed, that appears to be in the midst of a veritable value vertigo.[1] As a society changes, it is to be expected that some will seek the easy comfort of absolutism.

The New Right

The New Right, a coalition of ultraconservatives and the far-right, is best described as being somewhere to the left of the radical right. Using campaign tactics and literature that is both professional and influential, the New Right plans to elect ultraconservatives to Congress in 1978 and hopes to control Congress by 1980. Unlike previous campaigns from the right, the New Right shows signs of long-range planning, political

sophistication, and the capacity to compromise for maximum effectiveness. Their funding and grass-root support raises serious questions for the future of education and the nation.

At the center of the New Right complex is Richard Viguerie, a political fund raiser and "guru" of the new ultraconservative right. Located in his office near Falls Church, Virginia, are some 3,000 computorized tapes identifying the names and addresses of persons supporting conservative causes.[2] Viguerie estimates that his organization raised some 25-30 million dollars for conservative causes last year, and predicts an income of over 40 million dollars for 1978.[3] Distrusting the press, Viguerie has launched one of the largest direct mail campaigns in American history, sending as many as five million pieces of mail a month.[4] Viguerie claims "There is new strength in the conservative movement, a strength that comes from single issues organizations joining forces with broader conservative groups to defeat legislation. A coalition politics, as practiced by conservatives for the first time in recent memory is having a profound impact on the Congress, the press, and the country."[5] Terence Smith, of the New York Times, reports that leaders from a dozen ultraconservative organizations meet weekly with Viguerie for drinks and dinner to coordinate the New Right strategy for political power in America.[6] Viguerie's target in 1978 "...is to replace as many liberals of both parties as possible with 'leverage conservatives,' men who can influence policy and help elect other conservatives."[7]

Within the New Right coalitions are such organizations as The Committee for Survival of a Free Congress (SCFC),[8] established with seed money from ultraconservative Joseph Coors of Coors Brewing Company and now headed by Paul Weyrich, past president of the Heritage Foundation which supported

textbook critics in Kanawha County several years ago. The Committee plans to raise over three million dollars to elect ultraconservatives to Congress in 1978. The National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), another of Vigueries associates, hopes to spend over four million dollars for the 1978 election. The Gun Owners of America, headed by H.H. Richardson, a member of the John Birch Society's National Council, plans to support candidates opposing gun legislation, but in practice supports ultraconservatives. The Conservative Caucus (TCC), headed by ex-Nixon appointee Howard Phillips whose task was to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity, claims "We're going after people on the basis of their hot buttons."[9] The hot buttons Phillips describes include opposition to taxes, the Panama Canal, women's rights, gay rights, and a host of related issues with hopes of leading public discontent into direct political action for 1978. TCC is credited with offering assistance to Anita Bryant to help her campaign against gay-rights go national.[10]

The New Right organizations have recently coalesced under an umbrella organization called the Conservative National Committee, headed by TCC's Howard Phillips with legal counsel from Douglas M. Caddy, a former member of Young Americans for Freedom who appeared briefly as a lawyer for the Watergate burglars.[11] Ideological support appears to be enhanced by Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum and Reagan's Citizens for the Republic.

The New Right is organized, politically sophisticated, and capable of influencing the American public. Educators would be wise to consider the implications for future programmatic development should the efforts of the New Right prove successful. Inherent in the ideological commitment of the New Right is a plan to drastically reduce federal and state funding for social and educational programs.

At a recent meeting of moderate republicans called by Michigan Governor William G. Millikan to discuss fighting the take-over of the party by the New Right, Congressman John B. Anderson, the third-ranking leader of the Republicans in the House, charged that "extremist fringe elements who claim membership in our party seek to expel the rest of us from the GOP using their own arbitrary philosophical purgative."[12] Saul Friedman, a writer for the Knight-Ridder papers, has observed "in legislative battles in Congress, in political fund-raising, in mobilizing support on controversial issues throughout the country, in winning key off-year elections, and in sheer intellectual energy and talent, the New Right has overwhelmed the traditional Republican establishment."

A case in point is the recent legislative winners in the John Birch Society voting index for this session of Congress. In the House: Steven Symms, George Hansen, James Collins, Robert Stump, Robert Bauman, Eldon Rudd, and Phillip Crane and Larry McDonald, a member of the Birch Council, have scored 100 percent. In the Senate: Orrin Hatch, Paul Laxalt and Jesse Helms along with Carl Curtis and Jake Garn take high scores from 100 to 96 percent. Such conservative influence and support of rightist principles might have been undreamed of ten years ago, when Birch headlines drew strong opposition from conservatives such as William F. Buckley and Russell Kirk.

Joseph Coors, an ultraconservative multi-millionaire, was appointed to the Board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting the day before President Nixon resigned.[13] He was not confirmed, due in part to a conflict of interest resulting from his Television News Service, which was reportedly designed to counter the liberal media.[14] Coors is reported to have financed, or contributed to, a number of conservative and right-wing causes such as

the John Birch Society,[15] Americans for Agnew, and the Committee for the survival of a Free Congress (CSFC).[16] The CSFC was designed to defeat liberal candidates at the national level and the prime mover was Paul M. Weyrich, "Coors' man in Washington," an aide to Senator Carl Curtis (Rep. Neb.).[17] With the assistance of Richard Viguerie, a top political organizer for the Wallace Campaign, funds were directed to such ultraconservative candidates as C. R. Lewis, a member of the Council of the John Birch Society, who tried unsuccessfully to defeat Alaska's Senator Mike Gravel (D., Alaska). Although Coors' TV news has folded, it appears that Coors is experiencing success in a new and potentially significant organization designed to sell ultraconservatism to the American public.

The Heritage Foundation, created and funded by Joseph Coors,[18] was formed in 1973 as a tax-exempt Washington-based think-tank to support conservative ideology, free enterprise, individual liberty, limited government, and strong national defense.[19] Paul M. Weyrich, the Foundations' first president, reports initial internal correspondence was routinely packed and sent to Coors for review.[20] During the last few years the Heritage Foundation has grown significantly in funding sources and influence, comprising over thirty full-time staff members, ten research assistants, and an annual budget of over one million dollars.[21] Principal activities of the Heritage Foundation include:

Resource Bank..."to assist like-minded groups in developing issues and timing for impact on national legislation."

Communication Network...a speakers bureau which includes ideology from conservative to far-right. Lawrence McDonald, of the Birch Council, and Phyllis Schlafly, have been advertised as speakers.[22]

Washington Briefing series...designed to inform legislators of key matters before Congress.

Model Citizens Program...designed to assist persons in their local community to study their local school board, legislature, etc.

Education Update...newsletter to individuals and organizations reporting current issues in education.[23]

Education Update, edited by Dr. Onalee McGraw, appears designed to establish communication between conservative and fundamentalist private school organizations regarding funding, curriculum content, and educational issues at the state, local and national levels. Dr. McGraw, an active opponent of the Mondale-Brademas Child Care Bill,[24] "Man: A Course of Study" (MACOS), and an endorser of the Conlan Amendment, which would have denied federal funds to support so-called "atheistic secular humanism" in public schools, is the coordinator for the National Coalition for Children.[25] Her recent booklet Secular Humanism in the Schools: An Issue Whose Time Has Come, published by Heritage Foundation, argues that the cause for the precipitous deterioration of learning achievement in our schools is humanistic education.

> "Children are...being taught at school that moral and social beliefs and behavior are not necessarily based upon Judeo-Christian principles being taught by most families at home, but should be fashioned instead to suit the wishes and convenience of the majority of society as a whole."[26]

The Heritage Foundation will be remembered by some educators for its active support of school critics in Kanawha County.[27] However, recent developments suggest its influence will become more pervasive; the Board of Advisors and staff are politically experienced and capable of influencing issues. Examples of the emerging style can be found in its new campaign to stop big labor, launched by the fund raising letter signed by Senator Jake Garn of Utah. And, in Education Update, the spring edition, the names and addresses of committees reviewing federal funds for education were circulated to subscribers, suggesting the possibility of reducing federal funds for educational projects. With a current mailing list of over 70,000, the Heritage Foundation's programand political expertise should continue to be a source of educational interest.

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC), whose Board of Directors includes the last three presidents of the Heritage Foundation,[28] publishes a booklet intended for conservative state legislators throughout the nation. The booklet includes, word for word, legislative bills that can be introduced on a number of topics, including education.[29] Among the bills affecting education, the 1977 edition of "Suggested State Legislation" included items on free enterprise, parental rights, teacher proficiency, school discipline, and a bill prohibiting forced bussing. A quote from Dr. Onalee McGraw, whose degree is in government, is included in the booklet's introduction to legislation on values of education claiming that:

> "Humanistic education is the latest manifestation of the 'so-called progressive life adjustment philosophy' that has dominated our schools and teacher education for decades. Humanistic education 'places all' emphasis on the child's social and psychological growth, 'instead' of on the learning of basic reading, writing, thinking, communicating skills, and factual knowledge."[30]

In June of this year, ALEC invited conservative legislators to submit bills to be included in the next edition of "Suggested State Legislation." The chairperson of the evaluation committee for review of bills to be included in the 1978 booklet is Donna J. Carlson,[31] a member of the Arizona legislature and of the American Opinion Speakers Bureau, a John Birch Society front. It is likely the results of ALEC's suggestive legislation booklet will have an impact on state legislators and education.

The Anti-ERA Campaign

With growing sophistication, large numbers of grass-root citizens have demonstrated effectiveness in writing letters and visiting congressmen at the state and national level, protesting passage of the Equal Rights Amendment. At the center of the anti-ERA movement is Phyllis Schlafly's organization, the Eagle Forum, which is estimated to have some 50,000 core members.[32]

Phyllis Schlafly, an early supporter of the Reagan campaign and speaker before a number of conservative and fundamentalist groups, including the John Birch Society, seems to have united a considerable political force.

Within the last few months the stated goals of the Eagle Forum include a provocative new educational dimension in the anti-ERA movement. Included in the statement of purposes is a reference to education which claims belief in the right of parents to insist that schools permit voluntary prayer, teach the precepts of holy scriptures, use textbooks that do not offend the religious and moral views of parents, permit children to attend schools of their neighborhood and use textbooks that honor the family having the woman's role as wife and mother.[33]

In December of 1976, the Phyllis Schlafly Report circulated the address of Jo-Ann Abrigg, president of the Committee for Positive Education, which claimed that "We parents are indeed paying taxes to school systems that hire teachers and purchase educational programs that fill our children's minds with garbage and utilize psychological techniques to condition our children to anti-christian judeo philosophy and religion."[34]

As National Defense Chairwoman of the Daughters of the American Revolution, Ms. Schlafly has introduced the matter of secular humanism for action by the DAR.[35] Although it is too soon to estimate the success of these issues within the DAR, it is evident that the organizational support of Phyllis Schlafly is not going to disappear.

If, as some suggest, the ERA movement is doomed to failure, it is quite possible the political organizations and grass root systems created through Phyllis Schlafly will find education a likely target.

The John Birch Society continues to hold its own through some 4000 chapters, 400 libraries, several publishing companies, and a series of front groups supported by some 60 to 80,000 members across the nation.

Using front groups the society encourages chapters to leaflet their communities, write letters, and hold meetings espousing the far-right point of view. Among the more frequent front groups associated with education are: Youth Needs Truth and Movement To Restore Decency (MOTOREDE). Educators will be interested to learn that Youth Needs Truth has been successful in operating a number of youth camps. In a recent Bulletin to members of the society, Thomas N. Hill wrote "Just one indication of the favorable acceptance of the program is the fact that as a result of our camps in the last two years alone, over one thousand young people joined the society.[36]

March of 1977 Welch called for a major effort to establish 500 Tax Reform Immediately (TRIM) Committees, a Birch front, in each congressional district to lower taxes through less government.[37] "We are confident", writes Welch, "that pressure will continue to grow if thousands of TRIM bulletins are distributed throughout each and every congressional district."[38] The TRIM bulletin relating to the alleged records of target congressmen, is printed by the national headquarters of the Birch Society, sent to local chapters, and then circulated. As has been true of many Birch projects, the literature is often not identified as having come from the Birch headquarters. In September, 1977, Robert Welch directed members to distribute over 2,500,000 copies this fall.[39] Wes McCune, a national authority on right wing activities, has observed such distribution is a frequent occurance during off-year elections noting that the Birch Society may circumvent the federal election laws by starting before the incumbent is a declared candidate for re-election.[40]

Birch involvement in the anti-ERA movement appears to be much stronger than the general public may recognize. In a series of close state decisions, it appears the Birch influence has in some cases made the difference. "We wish we had space," wrote William Dunham of the Birch staff, "to describe

in detail the fantastic effort put forth by so many Birchers."[41] An example from North Carolina, where the ERA bill was defeated by one vote, is instructive. A Birch Section Leader comments, "Though the JBS was never publicly mentioned, the leadership positions were filled, and the movement's success was made possible, by our people, and I am sure the enemy knows it."[42]

Birch effectiveness in influencing public issues and candidates has, in some instances, been crucial. Referring to the election of Birch Council member Lawrence McDonald (D.-Ga.), Welch writes, "...as early as we could, in 1975, we assigned an excellent full-time Coordinator to work in that Congressional District alone."[43] And, in the Birch petition drive to get the United States out of the United Nations, more than eight million signatures were submitted to selected congressmen in 1976.[44]

Booklets hostile toward public education are a frequent item in the Birch bookstores, generally labeled American Opinion Library's and Bookstores. Dr. Henry Meyer's Fundamentally Speaking is the latest in a series of statements opposing humanistic education. In the September Bulletin Gary Handy announced Fundamentally Speaking as "a manual telling parents how they can recapture their public schools. It is an inspiring work that is must reading for all parents interested in exercising a righteous influence in the public schools."[45]

Directed and controlled by Robert Welch from the Belmont Mass. headquarters the claim of conspiracy continues to be felt through the activities and actions of the Birch Society. An example of the commentary about education may be found in a recent statement by Robert Welch "We have been feeling the cataclysmic evil effects of Dewey's far reaching influence increasingly... especially through activities of such currently subversive outfits as the National Education Association and that governmental monstrosity called H.E.W."[46]

Educators can expect to see the results of the Birch efforts grow during the next few months. The Birch bookstores, materials and the chapters are organized to carry out the directives of Welch and assist in ushering in the move to the right.

Taxes

During the last few years a growing number of conservatives, moderates and liberals have expressed alarm at the financial debt accumulated by state, and national government. Within the framework a campaign to drastically restrict government funding seems to be forming.

An example of the broad depth of support can be found in a number of organizations. Among them, The National Taxpayers Union (NTU) has been working to require that the federal budget be balanced; and to prohibit the government from taking more than 25% of income from taxable sources. Their proposal for a required federal balancing of the budget has been endorsed by the legislatures of 12 states.[47] An example of the educational concerns inherent in discussion of taxes may be found in a recent speech by James L. Tobin of the NTU speaking before an Illinois crowd. Tobin claimed "It's immoral to force me to pay for educational facilities when I don't have any children to send to school. It's immoral to force the elderly and retired to pay for schools that are no use to them."[48] It is to be expected that educational expenses and accountability will become a prime concern for many Americans. Educational expenses clearly constitute a major arena of concern for state, local and national budgets.

Liberty Lobby

An organization within the traditional fold of the far-right has had considerable success using the tax issue. The Liberty Lobby, a nationally based Washington organization with several publications, front groups and

their own publishing firm, has devoted considerable attention to the anti-tax movement. The Spotlight, a major Liberty Lobby publication, has grown from 40,000 subscribers in 197[illegible] to over 100,000 in 1977 and is actively advertising the aims of similar groups across the country.[49] Martin A. Larson, a staff member of Liberty Lobby, and author of a number of books encouraging persons to refrain from paying taxes, advertises to readers that his book, How to Defend Yourself Against the IRS contains advice which, if followed, will make IRS operations impossible.[50] Audie McBrearty, indicted by a federal grand jury for tax evasion, received the Lobby's Liberty Award, as head of the United States Taxpayers Union.[51]

The impact of the Liberty Lobby campaign is difficult to assess. It is clear however that the organization enjoys some support from other conservative congressmen and has gained support from their activities on the anti-tax front. The radio message of Liberty Lobby is heard on over 300 stations daily and it appears their influence will continue to grow.[52]

Tax issues have been especially beneficial to the ultraconservative and far-right complex. The growing concern by moderate and liberals alike about higher taxes suggests the inroads from the far-right will be enhanced by discontent about higher costs.

The Evangelical Right

During the last few years significant growth has occurred among religious fundamentalists, estimated as high as 40 million voters.[53] Some segments are clearly associated with far-right interests in opposing public education and establishing private schools devoted to a return to basics. The growth of fundamentalism and private fundamentalist schools should raise serious questions regarding increased pressure on public school financing and curricula.

The Institute for Creation Research, Inc. (ICR) is devoted to..."a revival of belief in special creation as the true explanation of the origin of the world."[54] ICR will send free materials to any person who will present it formally to their school board.[55] Among the publications that have generated controversy is Biology: A Search for Order in Complexity.[56] In Indiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee, and California the text has raised debate.[57] In Indiana, the Text was adopted by the state textbook committee, but later ordered removed by Judge Michael T. Duggan, who asserted "The book's claim that it presents a balanced view is a sham that breaches the separation between church and state voiced by Thomas Jefferson."[58]

ICR has grown considerably as a result of renewed interest in evangelical fundamentalism. The implications for future growth and influence upon school curriculum and financing should not go unnoticed.

Third Century Publishers present materials designed to mobilize a conservative Christian political base. The materials, written for the most part by Rus Walton, a former campaigner for Barry Goldwater and Ronald Reagan, include One Nation Under God.[59] Walton's thesis suggests, among other things, that God is an ultraconservative who is against coercing persons into paying for public school material that is offensive, joining unions, and forcing children to attend school.[60] Chapter six, "Are Public Schools Ruining Our Children:" suggests the root evil is compulsory education, curriculum and financing (taxation).[61] In the study guide, Walton's students are asked to "...consider the parents in Kanawha County, W. Va., and other school districts. Are there similar problems in your area?" and later, "Have you audited the materials used in your local school?"[62] In the Spirit of 76: the Citizens Guide to Politics, Third Century Publishers provides details on how to organize a political campaign.[63]

Third Century Publications should not be easily dismissed. The ties of this publishing company have been closely linked to Bill Bright of Christian Embassy and Campus Crusade for Christ.[64]

Ultraconservative interests are aware of the potential. Richard Viguerie, has been quoted as saying, "The next real major area of growth for the conservative ideology and (political) philosophy is among evangelical people. I would not be surprised if in the next year you did not see a massive effort to involve them, utilizing direct mail and other techniques."[65] God, it would seem, is something of an ultraconservative. As Fundamentalist Carl McIntire once observed, "Is it not marvelous that when we all get to heaven there will not be any Modernists?"[66]

Conclusion

The climate for a resurgance of political ultraconservatism is reinforced in recent polls of American public opinion. In a recent Gallup public opinion poll, some 47 percent of the respondents described themselves as "right of center," 32 percent as "left of center," and only 10 percent as "middle of the road."[67] Although the figures can be variously interpreted, it is clear that ultraconservatives hope to draw from the prevailing mood of discontent. At a time when the traditional coalition for social legislation composed of the civil rights, labor, and liberal democrats appears to be dissolving, the chances are good that the next election will be a key factor in determining the future direction of state and national programs.

The future of public education is a function of public opinion. As such, we are well advised to consider the recent strength of the new right and consider the probable consequences for education. If, as seems predictable, we are on the verge of another round of ultraconservative pressure, what might educators expect for the future?

Although it may be too early to predict the specific issues that may surface in education, it would appear that taxes, progressive social curricula in the area of human relations, bussing, and federal funding for educational projects will become prime targets. So too, we might expect to see increased concern regarding program development in the area of women's treatment in textbooks; specifically, a review of text materials relating to the traditional role of women. Such a review has already been suggested by Phyllis Schlafly to anti-ERA groups across the country. A related matter regarding godlessness in the school can be expected to occur as we witness the growth of fundamentalist organizations, some of which are quick to accept claims of the far right. It is likely this pressure will occur under the guise of secular humanism in the schools.

Inherent in current development is a simplistic belief in resolving the problems of the world through a conservative ideology designed to withdraw funding, and to retreat into preservatist politics. Preservatist politics, simplistic answers, and a monist view of how society should be run are the traditional ingredients of an extremist organizational posture.[68] At issue here is not the right of persons within society to express their views regarding public education. Rather, at issue is the capability of educators to effectively respond to organized pressure from the New Right. To be effective in the marketplace of ideas requires tools and strategies that are effective in molding public opinion. In this regard, a significant element in recent moves by the New-Right is the ability to influence public opinion using organizational tools that most educational organizations do not at present have. One has only to look at the difficulty of such organizations as UNICEF, SIECUS, ERA, and others to observe the harm that can occur when organizations become embroiled in political debate without informed public support.

The links are established and tightening. The political effectiveness of disperate but growing grass-root support systems are ripe for coalescing in a campaign against public education costs, curriculum, and liberal political influence. During a time of public apathy at the polls, lack of clear success of the schools in influencing social problems, the climate for right-wing, ultraconservative and evangelical rightists to influence legislation, funding, and curriculum, through electing like-minded officials at the local, state and national levels is clear and alarming.

"The New Right is moving," claims Viguerie, "They're organized, they've got talent in spades and they're going to have an impact.[69]

Educators would be wise to consider the warning clouds; we could be in for a major storm.

Past history is instructive. During the sixties and seventies American public education experienced a number of pressures from the far-right and left through such issues as students' rights, integration, and sex education, from such organizations as Students for a Democratic Society, The John Birch Society, Black Panthers, Christian Crusade, and others. A review of the controversies involved essentially the same observations. Literature was distributed, often inflamatory and unidentified, accusing the schools of conspiracy. The anti-school campaign was controlled by a highly organized group within the community which was manipulated by a national organization. Educators and the community were often caught by surprise; and when the schools did not have credibility communication, and were not prepared to speak with conviction, firmness, and courage, irresponsible critics were successful in using the controversy for political gain.

What is particularly disappointing is that the literature, tactics, and style of community conflict caused by extremist groups is predictable. What is needed is an awareness by educators of the problems that can occur,

courage to become involved in public controversy, and establishment of support systems that will assist in bringing issues and facts to the attention of the public. At the present time major educational organizations do not have the facilities to monitor or supply accurate consultant services to schools experiencing difficulty from extremist groups, and discussion of these problems is all too often lacking in teacher preparation programs.

If a new-right coalition continues to grow, it is likely American education can expect another round of pressure from the ultraconservatives to restrict funding and curricula. It can only be observed that such pressure could hardly come at a worse moment for educators experiencing dwindling enrollments, less money, and uncertainty about the future. It is ironic that the very conditions that seem to impose restrictions in education occur at a point in time when new breakthroughs in curricula and educational structure hold promise for more effective educational programs.

Education is essentially a political animal, its direction and philosophy charted by the will of an informed and responsible citizenry.

Unless responsible educators are prepared to speak openly, firmly, and responsibly to the American public about the needs and problems of public education the debate will be lost, and with it perhaps the integrity of our educational institutions.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Alvin Toffler, Future Shock, (Random House, Inc., 1970), p. 268.

[2]David Gelman, et. al., "Is America Turning Right?" Newsweek, (November 7, 1977), p. 41.

[3]"The New Right's Strong Ambition is Fueled by Huge Mail Campaign," New York Times, (December 4, 1977), p. 73.

[4]David Gelman, et. al., "Is America Turning Right?" Newsweek, (November 7, 1977), p. 41.

[5]Conservative Digest, (September, 1977).

[6]Terence Smith, "Opinion in U.S. Swinging to Right Pollsters and Politicians Believe," New York Times, (December 4, 1977), p. 73.

[7]Ibid.

[8]"Guess Who's Running for Congress?" (The National Committee for an Effective Congress, 10 East 39th Street, New York, New York, October, 1977).

[9]Bill Sievert, "Collision Course: New Right vs. Gay Rights," Capital Times, (Madison, Wisconsin, August 1, 1977).

[10]Ibid.

[11]Group Research Report, (October 31, 1977), p. 33.

[12]New York Times, (September 19, 1977), Reported in Group Research Report, (August, 1977), p. 25.

[13]"Hearings Scheduled on Coors Nomination," Denver Post, (June 11, 1975), p. 35.

[14]See: Stephen Isaacs, "Coors Bucks Network "Bias'," Washington Post, (May 5, 1975). Also, Stanhope Gould, "Coors Brews the News," Columbia Journalism Review, (March, 1975).

[15]Stephen Isaacs, "Coors Beer-and Politics-Move East," Washington Post, (May 4, 1975), p. A1.

[16]Charles R. Baker, "Coors on Tap, September 9-10," Homefront, (September, 1975), p. 36.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Stephen Isaacs, "Coors Beer - and Politics-Move East," Washington Post, (May 4, 1975), p. A1.

[19]Leaflet: "The Heritage Foundation: Introduction," (The Heritage Foundation, 513 C. Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002).

[20]Stephen Isaacs, "Coors' Capital Connection," Washington Post, (May 7, 1975), p. A5.

[21]Leaflet: "Heritage Foundation vs...Brookings Institution and Big Labor." (The Heritage Foundation, 513 C. Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002).

[22]Charles R. Baker, "Coors on Tap, September 9-10," Homefront, (September, 1975), p. 38.

[23]Leaflet: "The Heritage Foundation: Introduction," (The Heritage Foundation, 513 C. Street, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002).

[24]Group Research Report, (November 23, 1976), p. 39.

[25]John Conlan, "MACOS: The Push for a Uniform National Curriculum," Social Education, (October, 1975), pp. 390-392.

[26]Onalee McGraw, Secular Humanism and the Schools: The Issue Whose Time Has Come, (Washington, D.C.: The Heritage Foundation, 1976), p. 5.

[27]Stephen Isaacs, "Coors' Capital Connection," Washington Post, (May 7, 1975), p. A5.

[28]Edwin J. Feulner, Executive Director, Republican Study Committee and President Heritage Foundation, 1977. Paul M. Weyrich, Executive Director Committee for Survival of a Free Congress and Past President Heritage Foundation; Frank J. Walton, Past President Heritage Foundation.

[29]1977 Suggested State Legislation, (American Legislative Exchange Council, 600 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003).

[30]Ibid., p. 51.

[31]Letter distributed June, 1977. (American Legislative Exchange Council, 600 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E. Washington, D.C. 20003).

[32]David Gelman, et. al., "Is America Turning Right?" Newsweek, (November 7, 1977), p. 41.

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[34]Jo-Ann Abrigg, "In the Name of Education," The Phyllis Schlafly Report," (December, 1976).

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"Wisconsin, Education, and the New Right," News and Views published by the Wisconsin Education Association Council, February, 1978.

"Education and the New Right," paper presented to the American Association of Colleges of Teacher Education, November, 1978.